

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"GEORGE CANNING was a sinecure place-man from his entrance into Parliament to the day of his death, and his mother and sister had pensions from the public for their lives, beginning with the year 1808; he was the most boisterous of all the advocates for PEEL's bill; he was the constant reviler and abuser of the democratical part of the community; he made a jest of the agonies of poor OGDEN; he was the loudest of the advocates for that act of Parliament which banishes for life any one, who shall utter that which has a *tendency* to bring the House of Commons (to which he belonged) into contempt; he was the weakest man as Prime Minister and as Chancellor of the Exchequer, that ever filled those offices in England, and that is saying a great deal."—*Register*, 11 August, 1827.

TO THE

EDITOR OF THE COURIER FRANCAIS.

Barn-Elm Farm, 4th September, 1828.

SIR,

1. IN your Journal of the 22d of the last month I perceive a set of observations on what you call the *torpor* of England, and the "passive part which" she is reduced to sustain in the great "drama which seems preparing for Europe." A translation of this your article was published in the LONDON MORNING CHRONICLE of the 25th of last month, and, with the apparent approbation of that newspaper. The main object of the article is to contrast the ministerial conduct of CANNING with that of the DUKE of WELLINGTON, and to cause it to be believed, that the former was the more able and wise minister of the two; and that it is owing to the elevation of the latter to the post of PREMIER, that England now acts so tame a part, and makes so sorry a figure in the eyes of the world. Such, Sir, is your article. I am of opinion that

it inculcates not only that which is not true, with regard to these two ministers, but, that which is directly the reverse of the truth. I do not charge you with the promulgation of wilful falsehood; because I am convinced, by the evidence contained in the article itself, that, as far as relates to the affairs of England, you are wholly ignorant: but your paper is read; translations are made of it; if uncontradicted, it must necessarily produce effects; and, therefore, I think it my duty to answer this article of yours; to show how erroneous are its opinions and how incorrect its facts, and thus to prevent the mischief, which otherwise it might possibly do. I shall consider your article under two heads: as a description of the situation of England, and as making a contrast between Mr. CANNING and the DUKE of WELLINGTON. I begin with the part which relates to the former subject.

"The species of torpor into which England has fallen—the passive part she is reduced to sustain in the great drama which seems preparing for Europe, deserves the attention of reflecting minds. Great Britain is more interested than any other Power in the events of which the East is the Theatre. Her security, and her supremacy in the Levant, depend perhaps on the war between the Porte and Russia, and she may find reason for alarm if the Eagle of the Czars should replace the Crescent on the dome of St. Sophia. Constantinople, in the hands of the Russians, might become the cradle of a commercial and maritime power in the Mediterranean which might rival England. She knows and fears this, and yet she remains at rest, as if completely overcome with torpor. To conceal her feebleness, she even applauded and connected herself with combinations which excited her displeasure and her alarm; and she dared not even have an opinion of her own. No person is duped by the assent which the Cabinet of St. James's appeared to give to our expedition to the Morea. Formerly, it repudiated the victory of Navarino; it stigmatised it as untoward, and revenged itself on Admiral Codrington for the part he took in it with the British fleet. Now it pretends to rejoice at our crusade to deliver Greece from the last of its executioners, and to lay the first stone of its independence. The retreat of Ibrahim, induced by English agents, was designed as an argument to persuade France to give up

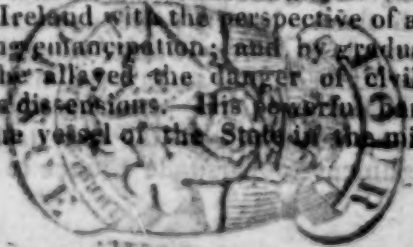
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her expedition. France persists in her project, and the English Government does not even think of making use of its argument; it consents to every thing with a good grace, and, far from opposing our projects, it is desirous of the honour of being associated with us in our labours. It offers us ships to transport our troops, an escort of honour to our army, and in condescending both to Russia and Don Miguel, in truth it is condescending to every one, and is every where a nullity."

2. I should have liked this better, if it had been expressed with less affectation of pretty writing; if it had less evidence of that childish French taste, which but too often sacrifices truth to the rounding of a period, or to the twist of an antithesis. Here are, in fact, if one were to speak rigidly, a great many untruths, told only because the writer could not bring himself to speak in the language commonly made use of by mortal men. The description is, however, substantially true; and if you had gone a great deal further, in your description; if you had painted our humiliation in much stronger colours, you would not have exceeded that which is felt by all Englishmen who love their country and who understand its interest; but, far different is my opinion with regard to the remaining part of your article, which, according to a practice which I have invariably followed, I here insert, in order that the public may be enabled to judge justly between us.

"This is the extraordinary situation of Great Britain under the Ministry of the Duke of Wellington. We should be deceived if we suppose that the financial, commercial, and religious embarrassments of England were the sole causes of her inaction. Her debt is, no doubt, immense; but it did not spring into existence yesterday. Under Mr. Canning's Ministry, her difficulties were augmented, and a commercial crisis, which threatened the public fortune, and with that all the elements of her power. But the man of talents who then held the helm of state leaned on the people. He was the chief of the Aristocracy, which marches with him and wishes to carry institutions with it. He endeavoured to strengthen the English Constitution by all the new interests and the legitimate influence of the democracy. Strong in the national confidence, he neutralised all internal obstacles. He entrapped Ireland with the perspective of an approaching emancipation; and by gradual reforms, he allayed the danger of civil and religious dissensions. His powerful hand directed the vessel of the State in the midst of

shoals and rocks, and he maintained the preponderance of England in the balance of Governments and of people. It is not enough for a new Minister to conquer a majority in both Houses—he must also be supported by a majority of the nation. Mr. Canning had such a majority; the Duke of Wellington tries to govern without it. Hence his perplexities, and the paralysis which seems to have fallen on the power of England. Chief of the stationary Aristocracy, he carried into the Cabinet all the prejudices and passions of the old Tories. His presence has inspired a sort of panic, terror, and public uneasiness. Although England has escaped the crisis which threatened all private fortunes with ruin, she seems to labour under an extraordinary disease. She is occupied with her debt, and speaks of it as if she had now to bear it for the first time. Ireland sees, in the triumph of Toryism, the threat of a long slavery; she resumes her ancient enmities, and seems ready to seize, by force and sedition, concessions which she despairs of obtaining by constitutional means. Above all, it is in the Foreign policy of the British Government that the immense difference is manifested between Mr. Canning and the Duke. The genius of Mr. Canning had not only called a new world into existence, and had made it a vast market for English commodities, but he had created for England new elements of power and of continental ascendancy. He had saved Portugal from the ignominious scourge of a cruel and stupid despotism; he had planted there the standard of civil, commercial, and religious freedom, around which he had intended to rally the nations, making Great Britain the centre of civilization and of constitutional government. He saw first the importance of the affairs in the East; and the Protocol of St. Petersburg, under his auspices, led to the Treaty of London. A grand thought dictated the coalition of the principal Cabinets in favour of the Greeks, the thought of preventing by the interference of the European Powers, the isolated action of Russia, and of preventing all pretext for renewing the ambitious projects of Catherine.—During Mr. Canning's life, Russia would have deliberated long before she had disturbed Europe by her armies; she would have remembered the threatening words formerly pronounced in the House of Commons by the Minister directing the power of Great Britain. The world have calculated the effects of an appeal made by Great Britain to the discount of Europe, caused by the obstinacy of its governments, a maintaining abuses and restrictions prescribed by our present civilization. The Duke of Wellington has made the Cabinet of Saint James's the laughing-stock of Europe, by exposing it to the delusions of Don Miguel. He seems only to have protested against the usurpations of the Portuguese despot, to give him the advantage and honour of concessions forced from England. He withdrew his Ambassador from Lisbon, but he acknowledged the blockade of Oporto and





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Madeira. Great Britain is reduced to lick the dust before Don Miguel. In the East, Great Britain has no other obstacle to oppose to the aggrandisement of Russia than Sir William A'Court's diplomacy, who will probably be present at the Emperor's victories, and will send the bulletins of the grand army to the Cabinet of Saint James's. Such politeness demonstrates to what nothingness the most powerful nations fall when their destinies are confided to men whose interests are different from the public opinion. England will not long consent to the humiliation of such an Administration. The policy of the Duke of Wellington injures the public interest, and wounds the national dignity; and against such a Minister opposition must arise on every side. A blow has been given him by the resignation of the Duke of Clarence, and he must fall, when a change in the throne shall bring him in the presence of a Prince who has beforehand condemned his policy."

3. Here is such a variety of matter introduced; matters so heterogeneous, and mixed up in a manner so confused, that it requires no ordinary degree of skill or of labour so to fashion an answer, as to make it intelligible to the readers, to whom this is the only apology I shall be able to offer for failing to present them with a regular analysis. I must take up the matters pretty much as I find them, and leave those who shall be pleased to read my remarks, to disentangle this confused mass of matter as well as they can.

4. You begin, Sir, by observing, that this state of humiliation is something extraordinary when applicable to Great Britain; and you ascribe this state to the DUKE OF WELLINGTON. You are aware, it seems, that there are financial and commercial difficulties; but these, you say, it would be erroneous to look upon as the sole causes of our humiliation. You then proceed to observe, that, though our *debt is immense, it did not spring into existence yesterday*; thereby wishing your readers to infer, that this DEBT is nothing *new*; and that, therefore, it cannot be the cause of our strange inactivity. *Nothing new*, unhappily for us, nor was a wen, which I once saw as big as a half bushel upon the back of a man in HAMPSHIRE, any thing *new* to that unfortunate man; but, its increased size, which was arrived at the utmost point of bearing, was *something new*; and, that plain farmer would

not have comprehended your logic, if you had attempted to persuade him, that the wen could be no obstacle to his agility, merely because it had not sprung into existence the day before that on which you made this attempt upon his reasoning faculties. It is in the nature of national debts, and of all debts, to become more and more burdensome, unless there take place an actual diminution in their amount. The Americans, for instance, have a public or National Debt, which, on the 30th of September, 1815, amounted to a hundred and nineteen millions of dollars, or *twenty-six millions, seven hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, or six hundred and sixty-nine millions, three hundred and seventy-five thousand francs*; that is to say, that the whole of the principal of the debt of the United States at that time, amounted to not much more than two thirds of the sum which is annually required to pay the *interest* of our debt. Now Sir, since the month of September, 1815, since it last made peace with England, the Government of the UNITED STATES has paid off, actually discharged and blotted out, sixty-seven millions of the debt, so that the Debt amounts at this time to only fifty-two millions of dollars, which is much about a quarter-part of what *we* have to pay for the *interest only* of our debt; and, it is also worthy of note, that during these twelve years of peace, and of paying off of debt, the American Government has built a noble navy.

5. When a National Debt is diminished in this manner, it grows lighter and lighter, as a wen would do, if it were under the operation of successful cure. But, if not diminished, its weight must continue to *augment*; for, though it may receive no positive addition, it must receive a great relative addition, from the comparative want of means in the creative part of the people, whom the continued payment of the interest proceeds steadily on to make poorer and poorer; and, consequently, less able to bear the burthen. In our case, there has been no positive diminution, but a great positive *addition*; for, the Debt at the close of the last war had its interest

paid in a money, of which it had required, for a great many years, only about one bushel and a half of wheat to pay a pound sterling; and by Acts of Parliament passed since that time, it has required, on an average of years, for the last ten years, more than three bushels of wheat to pay a pound sterling of that interest. The effect of these Acts of Parliament has been precisely the same as would have been the doubling of the taxes of every description. Suppose, for instance, the land-tax of a certain farm to have been before twenty pounds a year; these Acts of Parliament have made that tax in reality forty pounds a year.

6 So that, though this debt did not come into existence "*yesterday*" its *unbearable* weight, has not been very long in existence, its pressure, that pressure which keeps the nation down, is of a recent date; and therefore, your conclusion that the DUKE of WELLINGTON has no greater difficulty, in this respect, to contend with, than his predecessors had, is wholly erroneous: the question, whether the government will be able to continue to pay the interest of the debt in full, has at last forced itself into discussion; and every man of sense is satisfied, that this cannot be done and pecuniary means of carrying on war furnished at the same time. To cease to pay the interest of the debt in full is to declare the nation a bankrupt; and, without the adoption of measures, which it would be extremely difficult to introduce and cause to be adopted; and indeed, without a previous reform of the Parliament upon the principles of those "*Radicaux*," who have, I have perceived, frequently been a subject of your shallow wit; without a previous reform upon these principles, the interest of the debt could not be reduced, without plunging the country into confusion. To effect such a reform is no easy matter; and yet, this the DUKE of WELLINGTON has to do before he can safely venture upon war.

7. If you be unjust towards the DUKE positively, you are much more unjust relatively; that is to say, in the contrast which you draw between him and CAN-

NING, of whose character, capacity, history and conduct, you appear to know no more than a child in the cradle. You say, that under *his* ministry the difficulties of the country were augmented, a commercial crisis threatened the public fortune; but that this man of talents put the thing to rights. Here you manifestly allude to what is called the "*late panic*;" and so ignorant are you upon the subject, that you do not even know, that CANNING was not the Minister at the time that took place, and not until nearly eighteen months afterwards, when it was asserted that the pecuniary affairs of the country were completely restored to a proper state. LORD LIVERPOOL was the Prime Minister; MR. ROBINSON was the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, therefore, this part of your praises on CANNING is absurd as well as unjust.

8. But, though this great statesman, as you call him; though the "*man of talents*," as you characterise this empty declaimer, was not the Minister at the time the panic took place, and had no part of the merit, if merit there were, in the restoration of something like public credit, he was, as I am now about to show, one of the most noisy amongst those who justified the measures which finally produced the panic, and also one of the most noisy and foolish amongst those, who justified the fatal measures which are now in progress, and which are largely contributing to produce those very embarrassments, that prevent the DUKE of WELLINGTON from being able to venture upon war. I have mentioned above, in paragraph 5, certain most unwise and most destructive Acts of Parliament, which, by a change in the value of money, doubled, in reality, the weight of the National Debt. The first of these Acts, which has led to all the subsequent embarrassment, distresses, and miseries of this country, was passed in the year 1819; and of all the supporters of that measure, the "*man of talents*" as you call him, was the most clamorous. He called upon the House to pass it by an unanimous vote, and when it had done so he congratulated the House, that the question of the currency was now set at



rest for ever! As a proof of the ignorance of this man, the question has been matter of legislation three times since that Act was passed; and, at this very moment, all property is in a state of uncertainty and confusion, from the uncertainty of the *present* Acts relating to the currency. So that, of all the members of Parliament, of all the Prime Ministers that England ever saw, this man was, as to matters of finance, the most *foolish*, and that is saying more than I should like to say of any person, that I saw walking at large without a keeper. Perhaps, and indeed the fact is certain, that of all the speeches that ever were made within my recollection (*forty years, if you please*;) of all the speeches that ever were made, by English Financiers, the most weak, the most inefficient, the most childish, was made by CANNING in the execution of his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the year 1827. It was a creature very much gifted with the powers of talk; very cunning as an intriguer; but, as to all matters requiring sober thought and deep investigation, it was the most shallow thing that ever has strutted upon our stage. Springing from the Green Room by birth, it seems to have retained the character through life: it had in it a mixture of the comic and the tragic: it was at once a jester and a tyrant: it could affect to weep over sorrows that had no real existence, and it could make a jest of the groans of the innocent victims of its own tyranny.

9. Reserving to myself to say something more of this by-and-by, I now come to a part of your article, which, if read by them, would make the people of England believe that folly, that pure unmixed ignorance, had made a choice of Paris, as her favourite abode. The passage is this: "He was the chief of the aristocracy, which marches with him and wishes to carry institutions with it. He endeavoured to strengthen the English constitution by all the new interests and the legitimate influence of the democracy. Strong in the national confidence, he neutralized all interior obstacles. He entrapped Ireland with the perspective

"of an approaching emancipation; and by gradual reforms he allayed the danger of civil and religious dissensions." When the people of England read this, and passages like this, they turn from them with disgust, and with the most hearty contempt for the writers; and, with all the faults which they have justly to find with their own newspapers, they cannot help congratulating themselves, that any thing so very false and stupid as this is never, at any rate, seen to come from the pen of an Englishman.

10. You say that he was the "*chief of the aristocracy*" which marched with him, and wished to carry institutions with it. Not to load you with more than your own sins, which, God knows, are heavy enough, I will suppose this, which I take from the Morning Chronicle newspaper, to be a very bad translation; and that the original would have told me, that Canning was the leader of the aristocracy, who joined him cordially in his views of improvement, and who wished to change the institutions of the country, so as to make them accord with those views. Nothing can be more false than this: he was so detested by the aristocracy, that not a man of them whom the people held in any esteem, would have any thing to do with him: they shunned him as they would have shunned a pestilence; and his eulogists have actually ascribed his death to their implacable hostility to him. What you may possibly mean by the *neutralizing of interior obstacles* I cannot say; but when you assert that he led Ireland to expect approaching emancipation, and that by gradual reforms he *allayed the danger of civil and religious dissensions*, we lift up hands and eyes at the audacity of the falsehood. With regard to Catholic emancipation, he protested against meddling with the question; he chose for his colleagues in his ministry, men who were opposed to emancipation, and he advised the king to give a peerage to a person, in order that he might be appointed to be Lord Chancellor, who was opposed to that emancipation; to which may be added, that the supporters of

CANNING expressed themselves in favour of emancipation; but wished the question might not be discussed during the life of the present king! How false then, is your statement, so far as it relates to emancipation.

11. And now how stands the DUKE of WELLINGTON as to this matter? He has opposed Catholic emancipation; but then, he has done it without any deceit or any trick; and has said, at the same time, that circumstances may arise, that may render the measure just and proper, and that if such circumstances do arise, he shall not shrink from recommending and supporting the measure. No prime minister has ever said this before; and as to any thing like a pledge not to agitate the question during the life of the king, the DUKE has scorned to resort to so miserable and base an evasion.

12. If any thing could be more audaciously false than your statement with regard to the Catholics, it is that which you make with regard to CANNING'S "*gradual reforms* in order to allay civil and religious dissensions." You seem to be as ignorant of this man's history, as I am, thank God, of those of the *liberaux* of France. Why the man was minister for only *five* months; so that he must have been a wonderful creature indeed, if he had made gradual reforms, civil and religious, during that time. Short as the time was, however, it afforded that brilliant genius time to do two things; to declare in his place in parliament, that he would oppose to the *end of his life*, the only civil reform that the people have ever called for; and that he would also oppose the religious reform, which was made under the DUKE of WELLINGTON in less than six months after CANNING'S death! So that, you are not content merely with being wrong in ascribing religious reforms to CANNING; but you must ascribe that act to him, which he said he would oppose, while you take the merit from the DUKE of WELLINGTON who really did the act. I said that you were as ignorant of the affairs of England as of those in the moon: you seem to know nothing either of persons or things. You

have read in the English newspapers that the Protestant dissenters have recently obtained a repeal of certain laws that bore heavily upon them; and, knowing nothing more of the matter, you have ascribed this relaxation to CANNING who had declared that he would oppose the relaxation, while you have ascribed to the DUKE of WELLINGTON a perseverance in the "old Tory" measures, and an endeavour to govern the country by force, and not according to the wishes of the people.

13. But, flagrantly false as your representations are thus far, the pre-eminent falsehood remains to be noticed. You say that CANNING endeavoured to strengthen the English Constitution by all the new interests and legitimate influence of the democracy, and that he was employing his great talents in making gradual reforms for the effecting this purpose. This CANNING had been not only the opponent of the democracy all his life-time, but the constant calumniator of it; the vile traducer of it; and he had also been the lowest of all the tools of powerful corruption, from the very day in which he first put his foot in the Parliament house, to the day that he became minister; and, having become minister, he declared in his place in the House, that he would oppose parliamentary reform to the end of his life; that is to say, that he would oppose, to the end of his life, that legitimate influence of the democracy with which you have the folly, or the impudence, or both, to assert, that he was endeavouring to strengthen the English Constitution. Here he was perfectly consistent, for he had been the traducer and the reviler of the people all his life long. One thing, however, he did for that democracy; namely, furnish an occasion for the people to see the perfidy of their pretended friends, who had always been contending for the necessity of a reform of the parliament; but who, when they saw the hope of participating in the public money, through his means, openly and barefacedly apostatized, and gave him their support, while he declared that he would be, to the last hour of his life, the opposer of those very principles



for which they had been contending all their lives.

14. Now, how again stands the DUKE of WELLINGTON as to this matter? He may be, and I am afraid he is, as much opposed to a reform of the Parliament as CANNING was. But, he has never said this; and still more, he has never had the audacity to say that he would oppose, to the end of his life, a reform of the Parliament, "in *whatever* shape it might be brought forward." He has never had the unprincipled and tyrannical audacity to say this; besides which, he has never abused, never calumniated, never reviled the Democracy; never called upon the Parliament, as CANNING did, to make a stand against democratical encroachment, and never called the democracy "a low and degraded crew." With the DUKE, we are allowed to have hope, at any rate; with CANNING, we could have none; he was the bitter, the implacable enemy of the common people, who most cordially detested him in return.

15. You say that CANNING had a majority of the nation with him, and that the DUKE tries to govern without it. If you had said a majority of the newspapers and the newspaper backs, you would have been perfectly correct. For CANNING certainly had a majority of these, and this majority he obtained by means such as none but low and worthless men will employ. Some, however, even of these newspapers, were not base enough to be cajoled by his caresses, and one of them (the Morning Herald) has lately published a very correct account of this majority; it has shown how the majority was obtained and preserved during the short ministry of CANNING, and has drawn a picture from which any minister, having one single sentiment of honour, would startle with affright. I must say, however, that you, who can see through no other medium but that of our newspapers, and who think that they speak the voice of the nation, are not so very much to blame for the conclusion which you have drawn with regard to this part of the subject; but the truth is, that CANNING had a majority of the press, with

the general contempt of the nation; and that the DUKE, who appears to care very little about newspapers, has the general confidence of the nation. Not that I believe that the nation regards him as a man of great talent in affairs of Government, but this nation has at last become convinced, that prudence, steadiness, attention to business, firmness, and integrity, are much more necessary to them than "*witty*" speeches and "*pretty writing*," and it seems to be the general persuasion that the DUKE possesses these requisites. I do not say that he does, for I have experience enough to make me slow in answering for any body. I know he has the sense to *hold his tongue*, a very prudent thing in most men, and certainly much preferable to the gabble of such men as Canning, but by no means a proof of wisdom, though often an exceedingly good screen for ignorance. I know that the DUKE has not the capacity to extricate the country from its difficulties, unless he adopt measures of which he at present seems to have no idea; but, be the fact what it may, a great majority of the people have an opinion, that if any man amongst all those who have figured in public life, can save the country, the DUKE is that man. So that your assumption that CANNING had the people with him, and that the DUKE has not, is wholly erroneous.

14. And as to "*old Tories*," you repeat this phrase from our newspapers, as a parrot does the lessons of its mistress. There are no Tories and no Whigs in England now, God Almighty be thanked: there are no "*parties*;" those tricks by which the people used to be gulled and robbed, and induced to assist in the plundering of themselves, for the gain of the contending factions. There used to be *PITTITES* and *FOXITES*; any man would be ashamed, in these days, to be suspected of ever having ranged himself under either of these appellations: *PITT* used to be called *CICERO*, and *FOX*, *DEMOSTHENES*; events have proved to us that they were a brace of mischievous bawlers, and that they were enabled to squeeze the nation, each

in his turn, by the stupid adoration which cunning scoundrels induce thoughtless people to pay to the sound of their names. All this is gone, and I pride myself in having had a principal hand in rescuing my country from this disgraceful state of stupidity. You never hear of CANNINGITES, or TIERNEYITES, or BROUGHAMITES, and you never will hear of PEELITES or WELLINGTONITES. You do sometimes hear of COBBETTITES, and even that might as well be let alone. In short, this nation is at last wide awake; it has required hard pinches and heavy blows to rouse it from its slumber; but, from its slumber it is roused at last; it sees its ruin; it sees its debt of *eight hundred millions*, its dead weight of nearly *two hundred millions*, its poor rate debt of another *two hundred millions*; it sees its jails tripled in size, and yet too small; it sees projects brought forward for sending the people out of the country, for want of means for their relief; it sees the French in Spain, and the Russians in Turkey; it sees the French fleet and army gone to do what and where nobody can tell; it sees the United States of America with a fleet of ships of war ready to send forth to support Russia, or France, or any body, against England; and it sees its own Government standing stock still amidst all this, though the nation has to maintain, at the same time, and apparently in perpetuity, an army and a fleet more numerous, and far more expensive, than were necessary to carry on war against the United States of America, France, Spain, and Holland, all at war with her at the same time. The nation sees all this; it is distracted with anxiety arising from the taxes occasioned by this state of things; and seeing and feeling thus, and knowing that its sufferings have been brought on it; that its debts, its poverty, its increase of crimes, its disgrace at home and shame abroad; knowing that all these have been brought upon it during the sway of Cicero Pitt and Demosthenes Fox and their pious and illustrious successors, it curses, in the bitterness of its heart, its own ruinous folly, in having listened to the knaves that persuaded it to believe that it pos-

sessed in these men the greatest statesmen on the face of the earth. Dearly has it paid for its folly, but it is now cured; it *adores nobody*; and, in truth, it cannot be said to *confide* in any body; it cannot help itself; it faintly hopes that the DUKE of WELLINGTON may be enabled to accomplish *something* for its relief; and that is the utmost stretch to which its confidence extends; so that your observations about *old Tories* would sound to this people like something that was written three hundred years ago.

15. You are particularly unfortunate in your opinions with regard to Ireland: You say "Ireland sees, in the triumph of Toryism, the threats of a long slavery;" and then you proceed to say that "she seems to be about to take by force the concessions which have been refused her by constitutional means." So that the noise of a dozen or two of brawlers in Ireland have made you believe that the whole country is about to rise *en masse* against the government! You forget that the people of Ireland are disarmed, and that the government has an army of a *hundred thousand* men, with as many pieces of artillery and barrels of gunpowder as you probably have hairs upon your head; and if I were compelled to bet, I would bet that they have more. Besides, you know nothing of these Irish brawlers; or you would know that a silk gown for each of them of one class, and a bank note of a hundred pound for each of them of another class, would not only make them quiet as mice, but induce them to assist the government in suppressing what they would then call disaffection.

16. CANNING you tell us "called a new world into existence, made a vast market for English commodities, and created for England new elements of power, and continental ascendancy." Monstrous! He called a new world to come and take away English loans and English goods and never to pay one farthing for either: by his delusive speeches relative to this new world, he brought thousands of rich men to beggary; but the consolation is, that they deserved their beggary for having lis-



tened to his speeches. The new elements of power and continental ascendancy which he created for England, are to be found, I suppose, in his quietly suffering France to get possession of Cadiz and Corunna; in his sending an English army to be laughed at in Portugal, and in his sending out a fleet to assist Russia and France in crippling the Turks, in order that those two powers might be relieved from all inconvenience in their project for seizing on the Turkish dominions, and finally driving the English from the Levant and, in the end, from the Mediterranean Sea, if not out of Gibraltar itself. This was the way in which this surprising talker created new elements of power and continental ascendancy for us. You tell us that during Mr. CANNING's life "Russia would have deliberated long before she would have disturbed Europe by her armies, she would have remembered the threatening words, delivered by Mr. CANNING in the House of Commons: she would have calculated the effect of an appeal made to the discontent of Europe." I used to think that the prime fools of the earth were the newspapers of London, or the talkers at Liverpool. Your essay has changed my opinion. The speech made in the House of Commons about appealing to the discontents of Europe excited contempt inexpressible in England, and was one of the very things that gave the frail minister the *coup de grace*. That speech he was compelled to retract a few days after he had delivered it; he was compelled to tell lies in print, in hope of wiping away the folly that had dropped from his tongue; and, as to his threat having any effect upon Russia, little indeed must you know of the affairs of this world if you can believe that it would have any other effect than that, perhaps, of hastening the progress of Russia towards the accomplishment of her objects. Besides, this was the very man who made the treaty of July, 1827; and which it is well known he did, out of fear of Russia; out of fear of her making an attack upon Turkey, if he did not assent to that treaty. The object of that treaty

was to deprive Russia of an excuse for making war upon Turkey; and what a child it must have been not to have perceived, that the treaty never could answer that purpose.

17. I by no means pretend that the DUKE of WELLINGTON will do better than CANNING would have done with regard to these Foreign Affairs, but I know that he cannot do worse. Low as the country is, it would have been full as low, at the least, if CANNING had still been alive, and in the mean while we have the unspeakable happiness to be relieved from the empty and bombastical speeches of the latter. With regard to our domestic affairs, it is very probable that the DUKE's hostility to a reform of the Parliament, and to all the civil rights of the people, may be as decided as that of CANNING was, but, in the mean time, he has done nothing new to abridge our liberties, and he does not insult us by mocking at our misery and degradation; he does not cover us with revilings, and does not make us detest him by his threats. Those of us who have only common sense, rely for our restoration to freedom and to happiness upon something a great deal better than the word or the inclination of any minister; we rely upon *events*; we know that the events must come, and we know the consequences of those events. With regard to the relative merits of the two men as receivers of public money, the DUKE has, in my opinion, been beyond measure overpaid, but CANNING was overpaid in a still greater degree, for he deserved nothing at all, and it will be matter of wonder in twenty, and even in ten, years from this day, that the country bore without complaining of the heaps of money bestowed upon this man and his family.

18. In conclusion you observe that "the DUKE has wounded the national dignity, and that *opposition* must rise against him on every side." Opposition! there are not the elements of opposition to a minister in the whole country. Sensible people care not a straw who is minister, and the rest have, as I said before, a faint and vague hope that the DUKE, who, they think,

conquered France fairly, twice over, will be able to find out something or another to save them from utter ruin, and the country from convulsion. They have an opinion that *force* of some sort will be able to preserve their barns, their shops, and their factories, and they persuade themselves that the DUKE has more force in him than any other man. So that, as to opposition, while no minister whatever will meet with that, the DUKE is as secure against it as the statue of ACHILLES, which has been erected in Hyde Park, opposite the mansion of the DUKE. Above all things in the world, what could lead you to imagine that the DUKE had received a blow in the resignation of the DUKE of CLARENCE. Where must you live, amongst whom must you move, to have imbibed a notion like this? The resignation of the DUKE of CLARENCE has excited much less interest than the ridiculous resignation of HUSKISSON, and as far as it has excited attention, it appears to have added, like that of HUSKISSON, to the popularity of the DUKE. His Royal Highness has had the commendable prudence to abstain from the babbling by which HUSKISSON made an effort to throw the blame upon the minister. In the present case, both parties preserve profound silence, and the people appear to feel very much disposed to think *all is for the best*.

19. Oh no! MONSIEUR COURIER FRANCAIS, you are wide of the mark. You ascribe the inactivity of England to the impolicy or unpopularity of the DUKE of WELLINGTON, and think that the "man of talents" as you call him, would have enabled her to stir, and to ask some questions, at any rate, about the destination of the French Fleet and Army in the Levant. You are a "*Liberal*," and you are angry with the DUKE of WELLINGTON because he does nothing to thwart the BOURBONS. I dare say the DUKE's will is good, full as good as that of CANNING, at any rate; the flesh is willing, but the purse is weak. It is the money which the DUKE of WELLINGTON wants, and he, in pursuing measures which were supported by CANNING himself, is actually de-

priving himself of the means of getting at that money. He might, by making the paper-money of England, somewhat like the French assignats, go to war for a whole year, I dare say; or for six months at the least. He appears to have resolved upon a different course; and, if the DUKE were a bishop, I would call it a holy resolution. He is firmly resolved that we shall have gold and silver in circulation; that we shall no longer be the sport of the vile fabricators of paper-money; that the King's prerogative, given him for the protection of his people against Quakers and Jews, shall be no longer usurped by these greedy grinders of the poor and the industrious; that, in short, the nation shall pay its debts honestly, agreeably to that "good faith" to which the Members of both Houses have declared their determination to cling; and that in future when Englishmen talk of a pound, it shall mean a real pound sterling in gold. The DUKE has had the great honour to begin a new era, and history will do him the justice to ascribe this era to him. If you could but see the filthy rags, to smell or touch which is poison, that now circulate here in the name of money, you would, I am sure, recal your hard sayings against the man who has formed a determination to rid the country of such a pest. There are many other things, which I, for my part, wish the DUKE to do; and, indeed, this is the only thing, as far as I now recollect, that he has yet done to be of great service to the country; but, this is so great a thing; so praiseworthy in itself; so directly in defiance of every thing that is base and villanous in the country; and it must be attended with consequences so beneficial and extensive, that this one act, this alone entitles him to the highest praise from every Englishman who has the smallest regard for the land which gave him birth. Had the poor wretched CANNING been Minister at this time, he would not have dared to attempt to enforce this measure, though he had before supported it with all his might. That poor thing would have been frightened out of his senses by even the distant rumbling of the cla-



mours which the DUKE has heard, and which I trust he will continue to hear, without concern, rattling over his head. If CANNING had been alive we should at this very day have had a currency little better than that of ROBESPIERRE; whose measures of enforcement we might also have probably had. From this horrible calamity the DUKE of WELLINGTON has saved us: for this he has the praise of all the sensiblemen in the country, leaving the fools to carry their award to crown the brazen bust of CANNING.

20. Continue, Sir, as long as you please, to ridicule the figure that the DUKE and his Ministry make in the world with regard to foreign affairs, and I shall never attempt to interrupt you: laugh till your sides ache, and I will join you in the laugh; but, when you come to speak of the cause of this ridiculous figure, pray remember that it is the DEBT and other incumbrances created by the last war, and not, as far at any rate, that we know, the want of talent or spirit in the DUKE of WELLINGTON; and be you always persuaded, that neither CANNING nor any other man, could have done more than the Duke is doing, without getting rid of these incumbrances. I should like to conclude my letter, with some little mark of personal civility to yourself, and therefore I take this opportunity of apprising you, that you will receive an invitation to the GRAND FEAST of the GRIDIRON, though I am aware that Frenchmen are not very partial to the dishes that proceed from that culinary implement. I most anxiously hope that the occasion for holding this festival will not arise until after next May. It is sure, however, to come, first or last; and whenever it do come, you shall have due notice and invitation. After you have been at that festival you will understand the true cause of our apparently inexplicable activity, and you will never again talk about the talents of MR. CANNING, or of what he would have done against Russia if he had still been alive.

I am, Sir,  
Your most humble and  
most obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

## INDIAN CORN.

I HAVE no scruple to repeat once more my article upon this subject; for, if it be true that he who adds one blade of grass to that which a nation before produced, is a benefactor to mankind, what must be the benefit to this nation if I succeed in my present enterprise, and make this sort of crop of universal use in England. I observed in my YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, that, as nourishment, Indian Corn is the greatest blessing that God ever gave to man. AUTHOR YOUNG, in his travels in France, observes, that the proof of the district being a good and prosperous one, and a happy one for the people, was that it bore Indian Corn; and he expresses his opinion, that, though it could not be made to *ripen* in England, it would answer well to cultivate it merely for the *fodder* it would produce. Now, then, if I should make this an article of general cultivation in England, how great will be the benefit that I should confer! And, general the cultivation will and must become, if my crop ripen this year; and I take upon me to say that it *will* ripen. I do not care what weather it is after this; and I do not care what weather we have in any future summer; for, I am now certain, that whatever summer will ripen wheat, will ripen this Corn. If I had, as I was strongly persuaded to do, tried the thing "upon a *small scale*," my trial would have had no general effect. If the plat had been in a field it would have been supposed possible that I had prepared the plants in a garden. If I had made the trial upon half an acre or even an acre, it might have been fairly presumed that extraordinary pains had been taken, and that a sort of garden culture had been pursued. But, a field of *eleven acres*, which grew wheat last year, which had borne stubble turneps after the wheat, and which stubble turneps had all been carried off the land, and which *eleven acres* had put upon them not more than twenty, or at the very utmost, twenty-five large and full cart loads of manure; a field like this, open to the inspection of every body; all the facts of planting, manuring, and cultivation being known

to several workmen; a field like this, could leave no doubt in the mind of any man. When the wet weather came in July, and had continued for some time, I began seriously to doubt upon the subject, but I then said that the field was more valuable than either barley or wheat, for that the ears, though still soft, would fat hogs; that the stalks would feed lean hogs, and that the fodder would feed horses and cows in the winter. Now, there is no doubt remaining, and there are millions of acres of land in England better suited for this crop than mine is. Mine is rich land in itself, but it is heavy, and rather cold. A light loam, approaching to a sand, is the best land for this crop; and it would have this advantage upon light land, it would be ripe ten days earlier than upon mine. There were various circumstances attending the early age of the plants of which I was not aware, and for which I was not prepared. The spear of the corn, like every other part of the plant, is singularly sweet. Birds, therefore, and my own pigeons, pecked off the spears in many places. Jack-daws did the same; now and then a rook or two (true prototype of the rag-rooks,) dropped down sily and committed their pilferings; some partridges might have assisted, but the most mischievous enemies of all were the *doves*, which, say the poets what they will, I have found any thing but innocent. Their colour is nearly like that of a young Quaker Dame, having, like her, a white collar round the neck; and, though that is saying a great deal, no quakeress, no demure she-saint, of that money-making tribe, ever surpassed these devils in slyness. I did not discover the dilapidations made by these foes, for a good while after the corn was up. I then had to keep a man hoeing in the field in the day time, with a gun to fire off powder now and then, and I had to station a man with a gun between working hours and dark, and between peep of day and working hours. Had I been aware of these enemies I make no doubt that I should have had ten bushels of corn upon an acre more than I now shall

have. I have a new sort of enemies to contend with still, of the two-legged sort, and these, though they have no wings, are extremely difficult to prevent from committing mischief. My corn-field is the place of retreat, unfortunately for me, of all the *partridges* in the neighbourhood, of which there are by no means a few. There happen to be four oat-stubbles and several wheat-stubbles belonging to my neighbour, lying contiguous to my corn-field. The crops are now carried off from these: the partridges go into them to feed, and come to pass the day in the corn-field, which is the most pleasant retreat in the world, the ground being clear at bottom, for them to run about without obstruction and shaded by the beautiful leaves of the corn with now and then a spot where they can bask in the sun. No body goes into the corn, of course, and therefore, here they live without any interruption or danger, exposed to neither birds of prey, nor to any of their four-footed enemies. Imagine a cockney with a gun in his hand, and with a pointer dog beating before him; imagine the covey dropping in my corn; imagine the dog basking about from side to side, and the shooter paying no attention to any thing but the dog; conceive the brittleness of the stocks of the corn, and imagine, if you can, how little would be left of it standing upright at the end of a week, while all these sportsmen are abroad, unless I defended the field by a line of contravallation, almost equal to that which I suppose the Turks have now before the fortress of SHUMLA! The truth is, that I have had great difficulty in effecting this defence; but I have effected it hitherto, and I am resolved to continue to effect it. This haunting of the corn-field by partridges is always the case in corn countries. The wheat and other grain leaves the fields bare; and the Indian Corn furnishes the retreat of all the partridges upon a farm. It gives the security of a coppice without its disagreeable entanglement at the bottom, and without the danger from hawks and other animals of prey. There would be very little trouble in the preserving of game, if every farm had a corn-



field. I lament greatly that these miserable partridges should be in existence at Barn-Elm, and that I should be compelled to preserve them in my own defence.

4th Sept. 1828.

I deem this a matter of such importance that I am about to repeat my article of last week. It is now nearly a week since I wrote this article, and though the weather has not been very favourable until Sunday last, I am still of opinion that the corn will ripen. I invite farmers, in particular, to come and see this crop growing; for if it ripen, the introduction of this grain is of the greatest importance to this country. If ripe, there never can be a *bad* harvest of this corn; for the ears are cropped off in the field, and carried at once into the barn where the husks are taken off. If you get a dry day or only half a dry day, several acres may be harvested by comparatively few hands: the cart goes along the field and you pluck off the ears, which is very quick work; and when you have got the cart-load, you take it to the barn. I have several times spoken of the manner of eating of this corn whilst green or otherwise soft, and I perceive, by referring to my Year's Residence in America, that in 1817 we began to eat it in this state on the *third September*; and some of mine will be ready for eating on the third September, this year. Every considerable family ought to have a square rod or so in their garden: that which they do not eat of it, their pig will.

I HAVE several times mentioned in the Register, that I have a sort of Indian Corn, which I believed would ripen in this country in *any summer*. I have often descanted upon the various and great virtues of this grain; and, to introduce it into England, so that every farmer might have from one to ten or more acres of it every year, has always appeared to me to be a thing for which I should *deserve* the blessings of the whole country: *deserve* I say; for, I am very sure, that if I were to introduce some certain method of preventing the possibility of short crops, or of wet harvests, I should still have the *curses* of ninety-nine hundredths of the Church Parsons, of every one of the base and savage Borough-mongers, and of every reptile that lives, or

that wishes to live, upon taxes squeezed out of the labouring and industrious part of the people of every class, from the independent professional man down to the miserable day-labourer. I resolved, therefore, this year to give the thing a *fair trial*; not by planting a little patch of this Corn in a garden, but by planting a whole field of it, which I did at the proper season. The field bore a large crop of wheat last year, and turneps were sowed after once ploughing, in this stubble field. The turneps were by no means a bad crop, and they stood until very late in the spring. They were then taken off, and the field was digged in the month of April. A part of the field, which had been very frequently overflowed by the tide in the winter, continued to be so wet and cold, that it was not fit for the corn, until the season became too late. I, nevertheless, planted it; but that part of the field I expected to yield nothing but fodder and soft ears, to be given to the hogs at once when gathered. The rest of the field, about *eight statute acres*, is the handsomest Indian Corn-field that I ever saw in my life. I should observe, that, when I took this farm, there were not six cart-loads of dung upon the premises, and that I have never bought a handful. I manured this field (which, for *wheat*, would have required, for the eight acres, a *hundred large cart-loads* of dung) with the stuff shovelled up about the yard, with rotten potatoes, which my predecessor had the goodness to leave in the barn, and with about four cart-loads of pretty good manure, of which I took leave to rob my garden. I should think that these eight acres had bestowed upon them about twenty large cart-loads of tolerably good manure, taking one part with the other, and no more. The Corn has had two complete and good hand hoeings, and the ground is now as clean as a parterre ought to be. The field, as I said before, is the handsomest Indian Corn-field that I ever saw, and I have seen millions of acres. Every body knows what *sort of a summer we have had*; that we have had full six weeks of wet and shady weather, beginning about the eighth of July, and ending on the eighteenth of August, just the very part of the summer when we might have hoped for that heat which is so favourable for plants of this description. I was afraid to *look at the Corn*; I skulked away for a whole month; but, Sr. SWITHIN appearing, on Monday last, to have brought the dispensation of his favours to a termination, I mustered up courage to come and take a survey of his ravages upon my Indian Corn. I have now examined it well; and I can *see no reason for believing that it will not ripen*; and if it do ripen, I have not the smallest doubt that it will produce a hundred Winchester bushels to the acre. If it ripen this summer, there never will be a summer in which it will not ripen, if sowed in proper time. In about a month from this time, we shall cut off the *tassels* and the *long leaves*, which give a prodigious quantity

of fodder to the acre, and which fodder, weight for weight, sells much dearer than the best hay in America. The ears then remain on the stalks until the latter end of October, by which time the grain is hard, and then the ears are plucked off, and put away for preservation. The great stalks are then cut off or pulled up; and if given to hogs, they will gnaw them to pieces, and live upon them for a good while: at the least, they will serve to bed up yards and sties. In America, where the weather is hot enough to dry these stalks through, they serve as fodder for cows throughout the winter, and cows will do much better upon them than upon hay of the very best quality. The truth is, every part of the plant abounds with saccharine matter. My field is of the *dwarf* kind of corn, such as I have never seen in America; it does not grow to much more than half the height; but is more productive, acre for acre. The rows stand nearer together, and the plants nearer together in the row. I imported some *early* corn from America last year; the account of it was, that it was *very early*, and as such I sold it amongst my seeds last winter. I planted a piece of this corn in a field adjoining my other corn: I planted it one day before the other; it is now nearly twice the height of the other; but I am certain that it will *not produce one single ear that will ripen*: it is an entirely different plant, and requires a different climate. Any gentleman that has a mind to see my field of corn, will be showed it by somebody or other that he will find at the farm house. There is another advantage to be derived from the cultivation of Indian Corn; and that is, the *husks*, or fine thin leaves which envelop the grain, are made use of, in the West Indies, in Spain, in Italy, and in all the corn-growing countries, to make *mattresses*, and for all those uses that horse-hair or wool is applied to in *stuffing things*: these leaves are very thin, very tough, and full of elasticity. They never break and become dusty; they never cling together; they are very durable; and, in short, they make the far greater part of the beds of all descriptions of persons in the countries where they are to be come at. I shall, from time to time, give an account of the progress of this crop, and in the meanwhile I repeat, that any of my readers, that choose to do it, may come and see it growing; and if they come at all, they will do best to come *before the tassels and leaves be taken off*, which will be in about a month from this day.

WM. COBBETT.

Barn-Elm Farm,  
20th August, 1828.

## ENGLISH GARDENER.

I HAVE now finished and published this work, and am here about to give an account of it to my readers. Some time

ago, I published a little book called the *American Gardener*, in fulfilment of a promise which I had made to my neighbours in Long Island, while I had the happiness to live amongst them. But, there required a book, which should contain all that I knew about gardening, as applicable to England. This book I have now made, and have just published. The title is as follows:—

## THE ENGLISH GARDENER; OR, A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

### AND ALSO

Of the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with

## A KALENDAR,

Giving Instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

“I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding: and, lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the stone-wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction.”—Proverbs, Chap. xxiv. Ver. 30.

The contents of the book are comprised in seven Chapters, as follows:—

Chap. I. On the arrangement of the divers matters contained in the subsequent Chapters, and on the method which ought to be pursued in the studying those matters.

Chap. II. On the situation, form, and extent, enclosing, and laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens,



Chap. III. On the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses.

Chap. IV. On propagation and cultivation in general.

Chap. V. Kitchen Garden Plants, arranged in alphabetical order, with directions relative to the propagation and cultivation of each sort.

Chap. VI. Fruits.—Propagation, planting, and training, and pruning, whether Wall Trees, Espaliers, or Standards, with an alphabetical list of the several Fruits, and with observations on the diseases of Fruit Trees.

Chap. VII. The formation of Shrubberies and Pleasure Grounds, and of their management: with a list of Shrubs, and Instructions as to the cultivation and propagation of each sort, the formation of Flower Gardens, with a list of Flowers, and directions for the propagation and cultivation of each sort, and also a list of Shrubs and Flowers, classed according to their proper uses or situations in the Shrubbery or Flower Garden.

The work concludes with a Kalendar of the principle sowings, and other work, to be done in each month of the year; and with a suitable Index to the whole. There are Plates, as follows:—

1. A Plan for a Kitchen Garden, with its walks, walls, hedges, and other things, describing the exact dimensions, form, and aspects, of the whole.
2. A Plate to illustrate the effect of cultivation, with regard to the growth of Plants.
3. A Plate to illustrate, and to make perfectly easy to any person, the operation of grafting upon small stocks.
4. A Plate to illustrate the performance of grafting upon large stocks.
5. A Plate to illustrate, and to make perfectly easy, the operation of budding.
6. A Plate, exhibiting, first, a young

Tree, just planted against a wall; and, next, the manner of treating it the first Summer after it has been planted.

7. A Plate, exhibiting a Currant Tree, pruned in the proper manner.

8. A Plate, exhibiting the manner of training and pruning vines as Espaliers.

The price of this book is *six shillings*, neatly bound in boards, and on excellent paper, and in good and well-performed print. Booksellers will say, that it is a shame to sell such a book, of five hundred full pages, with these plates, at so low a price; but it has been my object to make the book of general utility; and I know that there are a much greater number of persons who can afford to learn to be gardeners at the expense of *six shillings* than at the expense of *ten*, and, therefore, I have fixed upon this low price.

#### DOCTOR DOYLE.

[The following letter to DOCTOR DOYLE I have had in my possession for some weeks; but the writer must have perceived, that I was unable to insert it sooner, unless I had omitted matter of more importance in point of time.]

A LETTER, addressed by this Catholic prelate to the Duke of Wellington, has excited a great deal of attention amongst those who feel interested in the affairs of Ireland. I, therefore, insert the following letter, which is a commentary on the letter of Dr. DOYLE. It discovers a great deal of knowledge on the subject, and that subject is closely connected with the peace and happiness of Ireland.

SIR,—I have just read in *The Dublin Evening Post* of Tuesday last, the letter addressed by the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Leighlin and Kildare, to his Grace the Duke of Wellington, of which you have given extracts in your paper of this day. As the whole tendency of this letter is more or less to separate or disconnect the Catholics of Ireland from the See of Rome, it cannot but be received with great favour by Protestants of every denomination, as the one vital principle is common to all the varieties of Protestant

belief—that of a denial of the authority of the Pope. This letter may even give satisfaction to the Cisalpine Catholicism of some few persons here who are not Protestants. But the question is not what Protestant, or what *quasi* Catholic, this letter may please, but will the measure it proposes be approved of by the Catholics of Ireland, and if not, are the Right Rev. Prelate's arguments such as to induce the Minister to force those measures down their throats?

To the Right Reverend Bishop's proposal of rendering the Catholic Church in Ireland "National" (Catholic and National!!), the very denomination involves a contradiction. I believe few Catholics will agree, this nationalizing of Churches being an essentially Protestant device, unknown before the Reformation; for, before and since, Catholics acknowledge but one faith, one baptism, and one holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church. The Prelate seems to rest his *projet* on the vague doctrines of the pretended *Gallican* liberties; and, it would seem, means to gratify us with the pretended liberties of a new-fangled *Hibernian* Church. Now, as we are fully aware of the evils which those pretended Church liberties produced in France and elsewhere, we would rather decline the honour of adopting them, however elevated the quarter from whence they come recommended.

Henry VIII. first commenced this nationalizing of churches, and established the pretended liberties of the *Anglican* Church, which proved not merely the subjugation of that Church, but the sacrifice of the rights, and interests, and well-being, of the people which the Church, whilst independent, protected, to this Protestant despot; as the establishment of the pretended liberties of the *Gallican* Church effectuated the prostration of the interests of the people of France, which the Church could no longer cherish and defend, by the subjugation of that Church to the Catholic despot Louis XIV., for then, having no longer any power in the State to control him (Richelieu had broken down the Aristocracy), and not till then—that is, until he had established those pretended *Gallican* liberties—could he, or did he, utter the well-known sentence "*La Nation c'est moi?*" This omnipotence over the Church thus acquired by Louis XIV. is now re-asserted and exercised by the Liberal faction, who lord it over France with much more insolence and a more reckless despotism than ever did the Grand Monarque; and they proclaim all their manœuvres, which tend ultimately not only to the absolute subjugation of the people to their faction, but to the extirpation of Christianity; so that, as was happily expressed by the Viscount de Conny, "every man in France will have every facility to become an Atheist, but no man in France is to be suffered to become a Priest"—to be no more than a vindication of the said *Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*. That those pretended liberties did not want for eloquent advocates I

admit, for Voltaire and D'Alembert, and their whole gang of *Philosophes*, the constant execrators of the name of Christ, were the most loud and incessant declaimers for *Les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, behind which they worked those batteries which were to destroy Christianity and Monarchy, and deluge their country with blood. But after all this bloodshed in the name of liberty, this gang of Liberal *Philosophes*, by their nefarious dominion, their profligacy and corruption, so disgusted the people of France with that name, that they hailed the arbitrary rule of Buonaparte as a blessing.

How would those *Philosophes*, in their hatred to the Catholic Religion and the Holy See, have been delighted at these proposed measures, calculated to alter the constitution and relations with Rome of the Hierarchy of Ireland, and by which, according to the Right Reverend Prelate's own words, "*the intercourse with Rome would be diminished, and almost cease.*" That is, by which that would "*almost cease*" in Ireland, which it has been one of the objects of all their writings to show ought every where to cease; and with the same feeling of satisfaction would they greet the desire expressed by the Right Rev. Prelate, "*That the Duke of Wellington should propose to the Pope that an arrangement should be made, having for its object to render the Catholic Church in Ireland more NATIONAL;*" for thus indeed might the connexion of the Catholics of Ireland with the successors of the Apostle St. Peter be soon made effectually "*to cease.*"

[To be concluded next week.]

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